

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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P 291150Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8797

S E C R E T LISBON 4360

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PO

SUBJECT: AZORES NEGOTIATIONS

SUMMARY: IN OPINION GOP ISRAELI RESUPPLY OPERATION HAS SHOWN LAJES TO BE IN DIFFERENT CATEGORY FROM OTHER NATO BASES FOR WHICH U.S. PAYS NO COMPENSATION, AND SHOULD INDUCE U.S. TO DROP IDEA OF CONVERTING LAJES TO "NATO BASE". BOTH GOP CONCLUSIONS BASED ON ASSUMPTION "NATO BASE" OPERATIONS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO VETO WITHIN NATO. DISABUSING GOP OF THIS MISCONCEPTION COULD HELP PRESERVE OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION AND TEND TO SEPARATE COMPENSATION GOP EXPECTS AS RESULT ISRAELI RESUPPLY FROM QUID FOR LAJES. END SUMMARY

1. CHARGE DISCUSSED AZORES NEGOTIATIONS WITH FONOFF DIRGEN POLITICAL AFFAIRS FREITAS CRUZ NOVEMBER 28. LATTER REVEALED THAT GOP HAD PROVIDED AMBASSADOR THEMIDO WITH A "PACKAGE" REPRESENTING WHAT GOP CONSIDERS REASONABLE COMPENSATION FOR CONTINUED U.S. OF LAJES, WHICH "PACKAGE" WILL BE REVEALED IN DUE COURSE. MEANWHILE, THEMIDO HAD ALREADY REVEALED TWO ELEMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE POSITION: (1) ON BURDEN-SHARING, GOP ALREADY SHOULDERING LARGE BURDEN ON BEHALF OF WEST BY FIGHTING IN AFRICA AGAINST SOVIET EXPANSIONISM; (2) RECENT MIDDLE-EAST CRISIS HAD SHOWN THAT LAJES BASE IN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT CATEGORY FROM OTHER BASES PROVIDED U.S. BY NATO COUNTRIES WITHOUT COMPENSATION, AND ALSO  
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SHOULD HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO U.S. THE UNDESIRABILITY OF CONVERTING LAJES INTO A "NATO BASE", GIVEN THE UNCOOPERATIVENESS OF MOST NATO ALLIES WITH REGARD TO THAT CONFLICT.

2. CHARGE PASSED QUICKLY OVER BURDEN-SHARING TOPIC BY CHARACTERIZING GOP RESPONSE AS "NOT UNEXPECTED". AS TO LAJES AS NATO BASE, HE FELT GOP POSITION MIGHT BE BASED ON A MISCONCEPTION, IN THAT THERE IS IN EXISTENCE NO SUCH THING AS A "NATO BASE" AS SUCH, I.E., WHERE CONTROL IS EXERCISED BY NATO AS AN ORGANIZATION. INDEED ALL BASES USED FOR NATO PURPOSES COME UNDER THE ULTIMATE CONTROL OF THEIR HOST COUNTRIES AND THE DECISION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY CAN BE USED FOR A CERTAIN PURPOSE IS SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE HOST AND TENANT GOVERNMENTS. IN THE CASE OF LAJES, IT IS ALREADY VIRTUALLY A "NATO BASE". ASIDE FROM FACT BASE ACCORD PREAMBLE LINKS IT TO NATO, GOP UNDOUBTEDLY SHARES WITH USG THE INTERPRETATION THAT THE DAY-TO-DAY ASW ACTIVITIES AT THE BASE ARE ESSENTIALLY IN SUPPORT OF NATO AIMS WHATEVER THE REST OF NATO MIGHT THINK (FREITAS CRUZ NODDED HIS AGREEMENT). CHARGE SAID HE UNDER IMPRESSION GOP ALSO SHARES WITH USG THE DETERMINATION THAT THE ISRAELI RESUPPLY EFFORT WAS ESSENTIALLY IN SUPPORT OF NATO, AGAIN WHETHER THE REST OF NATO AGREED OR NOT, SINCE IT WAS DESIGNED TO COUNTER AN ACT OF SOVIET ADVENTURISM WHICH IF ALLOWED TO SUCCEED WOULD HAVE HAD GRAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO (FREITAS CRUZ AGAIN NODDED HIS AGREEMENT). OTHER ACTIVITIES AT THE BASE, SUCH AS TRANSPORT OF TROOPS AND SUPPLIES TO "NATO BASES" IN EUROPE, WERE ALSO CLEARLY IN SUPPORT OF NATO, AND THE AVAILABILITY OF LAJES FOR RETURN OF U.S. TROOPS TO EUROPE WAS CLEARLY AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN NATO POSITION ON MBFR, WHETHER OR NOT CERTAIN NATO COUNTRIES WERE PREPARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THIS. FREITAS CRUZ AGAIN AGREED AND PASSED ON TO OTHER SUBJECT.

3. COMMENT: FREITAS CRUZ WAS PROBABLY REFLECTING GENERAL GOP ASSUMPTION THAT OPERATION OF LAJES AS "NATO BASE" WOULD BE SUBJECT TO VETO IN NATO. CONCEIVABLY, PURSUIT BY U.S. OF LINE I TOOK COULD ENABLE US TO KEEP LAJES LINKED TO NATO IN THE SECRET

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NEGOTIATIONS. IT COULD ALSO ENABLE US TO SEPARATE THE COMPENSATION GOP EXPECTS AS RESULT ISRAELI RESUPPLY OPERATION FROM THE QUID FOR LAJES, KEEPING THE LATTER RELATED STRICTLY TO ITEMS DIRECTLY RELATED TO ASW/NATO CONCERNS (E.G., P-3 AIRCRAFT, SONAR EQUIPMENT).  
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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 11 MAY 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY BASES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 29 NOV 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Original Classification:** SECRET  
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**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25 SEP 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <25-Sep-2001 by rowellE0>; APPROVED <28-Nov-2001 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** AZORES NEGOTIATIONS  
**TAGS:** MARR, PO, NATO, (FREITAS CRUZ)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005